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The Shape of Things

A NEWS FLASH FROM LONDON ANNOUNCES, as we go to press, that the Council of Foreign Ministers has adjourned indefinitely. Thus, what may prove to be the last effort of the Big Four to write a joint peace treaty with Germany has ended in abject failure. Total disagreement on the reparations question seems to have been the immediate cause, but there was no meeting of minds on any point of importance. Nor, perhaps, could any have been expected, considering the tense state of mutual suspicion between Russia and the United States. With no armistice in sight to halt the "cold war," the contest will now be transferred from the council chamber to other fields, with capture of the political support and economic potential of Germany the immediate objective of both sides. We shall comment at length next week on the causes and consequences of this sorry ending of a once great alliance.

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COMMUNIST ECONOMY IS NO MORE IMMUNE to the ravages of inflation than a capitalist or semi-Socialist one. In Russia, as in other countries, huge unproductive war-time expenditures led to a vast increase in the supply of money in relation to the supply of goods. The result was "an inflationary gap" which the Soviet government now proposes to close by drastic devaluation. Holders of cash will receive only one new ruble for ten old ones. Owners of state bonds are treated better: they will exchange their securities on a one-for-three basis. Bank depositors, who will receive one for one on the first three thousand rubles, do best of all. The chief concern of most Soviet workers will probably be the actual buying power of their incomes. Since wages, pensions, and so forth are to remain unchanged, real incomes will depend on the new unified price schedules. In the absence of more data than are at present available, it is hard to say just how the various classes will fare; those whose incomes have been sufficient to buy only what their ration cards entitled them to may be rather worse off. Bread will cost them a little less; meat, fats, sugar, vegetables, and some other items, no more. And with rationing ended, they will be able to buy as much as they can afford. On the other hand, tea, milk, fruits, textiles, and shoes—previously rationed—are to be priced above the ration level though well under that prevailing in the "commercial stores." Those who hitherto have earned enough to enable them to patronize the commercial stores may find the buying power of their incomes enhanced but that of their savings diminished. On the whole, we doubt whether devaluation will greatly alter the distribution of goods in Russia.

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EVERY DELAY AND SIGN OF HESITATION among the major powers or in the United Nations stimulate violence in Palestine and encourage the still vacillating members of the Arab League to accept the dictates of the Mufti and his fellow-firebrands. Yet nothing has happened in these past two weeks to convince the Arabs that the decision of the U. N. Assembly was a serious business, to be carried out firmly and with energy. The five-nation Palestine Commission has not even been appointed. Only one member was named—Lisicky of Czechoslovakia; and he has sailed for home. The somnolent tempo at Lake Success possibly reflects American as well as British reluctance to take the necessary next steps. In any case, that reluctance is not to be questioned; the Bevin attitude has an exact echo in certain corners of the State Department. On page 675, we publish a detailed record of the Palestine fight in the U. N. The story, which even now can be told only in part, reveals plainly the cross-currents of interest in Washington which all but immobilized the American delegation at the Assembly. The same situation, if it continues, will block effective American help in implementing partition and enabling Palestine's Jews to defend the security of their newly promised land.

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AS FOR BRITAIN, ITS BEHAVIOR, BOTH IN Palestine and at home, has been such as to guarantee increasing Arab violence. Although troops were finally moved into one or two areas where tension was greatest, the British authorities have largely held aloof. Still worse, the murderous assault on the peaceful Jewish road convoy by troops of the Arab Legion—Transjordan's British-led army—shows that even the forces ostensibly charged with keeping order are not to be relied on. Attacks have multiplied on both sides, with the Irgun staging reprisals that would certainly have been avoided had the British given Haganah authority to maintain order. As it is, extremists are gaining ground, creating a situation that will make the work of the commission, when it ultimately takes over, almost hopelessly difficult. But Britain's folded-arms attitude in Palestine is by no means its

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 663
Confusion Confounded 665
What Are We Afraid Of?
by Freda Kirchwey 666
ARTICLES
Politics and People. Wallace the Incomplete Angler *by Robert Bendiner* 668
The Anderson Plan
by Henry H. Collins, Jr. 669
Orpheus Bound
by Mary Smart and Muriel Fox 670
Save the Public Domain!
by Richard L. Neuberger 673
The Palestine Fight—an Inside Story
by Lillie Shultz 675
Russia Speculates on Britain
by Alexander Werth 678
Everybody's Business:
When Bankers Disagree
by Keith Hutchison 681
BOOKS AND THE ARTS
"Don Quixote" and the Novel
by Pedro Salinas 682
Report on Eastern Europe *by Russell Hill* 683
History as Narrative
by Richard W. Leopold 684
Novelist's Notebooks *by F. W. Dupee* 685
Religious Poems by Rilke
by Rolfe Humphries 686
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 686
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 687
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 688
LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 689
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 242
by Frank W. Lewis 690

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only form of obstruction. The government has announced that although it will probably lay down the mandate by May 15, the U. N. Commission will not be received in Palestine until two weeks before that date. Two weeks to reestablish order, set up organs of government, and form and arm militias to maintain order without any further help from the British forces! This explicit formula for failure, following the behavior of Britain in the U. N. and its record since then in Palestine, seems sufficient proof that what the Prime Minister really wants is the breakdown of partition, before it has even a chance to get under way. In spite of the dilatory and divided temper of the State Department, we are sure neither the President nor Secretary Marshall would welcome such an outcome. We call upon them, most urgently, to take the necessary steps to prevent it.

*

BEYOND THE POINT OF BEING SURPRISED AT anything John L. Lewis might do, we nevertheless read no fanciful significance into his contemptuous two-word message of "disaffiliation" from the American Federation of Labor. Inevitably, rumors are to be had for the picking: Lewis will make his peace with Phil Murray and return to the C. I. O.; Lewis will go raiding and build his District 50 into a third major labor organization; Lewis will revive his Labor's Non-Partisan League and cast in his political lot with Henry Wallace. Any of them could be true, but none need be. The mine leader has always been a labor statesman of the rule-or-ruin persuasion, and after what happened at the A. F. of L.'s last convention it simply wouldn't pay him or his miners to stay in. It would have meant contributing $216,000 a year to the Federation treasury in dues and another $600,000 to Labor's Education and Political League in the form of a voluntary donation—all without a representative on the Executive Council. At sixty-seven, and far from well, it is unlikely that Lewis will make much of a splash either politically or as a contender for labor leadership. Even assuming that he could dispose of the miners' vote—which he failed to do, in the past—where could he throw it? As for the potentialities of District 50, he has lavished time and money on that catch-all for some years without achieving more than a total membership of 75,000. Lewis may have walked out of the spotlight this time.

*

THE BROOKLYN *TABLET* AND THE NEW YORK *World-Telegram* have scored a disturbing victory for bigotry. For many years, New York school teachers have obtained "alertness" credits toward pay increases by taking approved lecture courses in various city educational institutions. Under pressure from the two newspapers, the Board of Superintendents last week dropped from its approved list one lecturer and one course and ordered the suspension of a second course pending its

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"reorganization." The excommunicated lecturer is Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University sociologist, and the course is "The Soviet Union, Its Economic and Cultural Development," given by the American-Russian Institute. The suspended course is "Backgrounds and Techniques in Teaching Intercultural Education," sponsored by a group of teachers' societies, which are subject to the authority of the Board of Superintendents, as the institute is not. The *Tablet* and the *World-Telegram* objected to Dr. Stern, an acknowledged authority on race relations, because of his leftist connections and his authorship, seventeen years ago, of a pamphlet attacking the three major American religions. The *Tablet* also objected to the intercultural education course on the ground that six of its lectures were to deal with racial prejudice—proof positive, naturally, that Communists were at work. As we go to press, the sponsoring teachers' societies have not replied to the Board of Superintendents' order. We hope that, when they do, the board will reverse its decision. An adult's freedom to hear the speakers he chooses, as well as to earn much-needed credits, should not be cut to fit the cloth of the *Tablet* and the *World-Telegram*.

*

THE UNITED NATIONS CERTAINLY GETS around. The Human Rights Commission has now been requested to do something about a king of the Bekom tribes, in the British Cameroons, who collects wives. The St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance of London has put the matter squarely up to the commission in a petition documented with a story which is so vivid that we are surprised to find that it was the work of a Franciscan missionary. It seems that this old gentleman, the king—he is eighty—sends out scouts to the tribal huts to select young and comely candidates. The girls, with "nothing on but a necklace of large seeds," are brought, one by one, before the king, who sits on his throne with a leopard under his feet. The girl's father throws his daughter to the ground, the king steps forward and places his right foot upon her, and another wife is added to his collection of some six hundred. During the ceremony, a hundred of these wives "stand around him in a semi-circle—naked—as is the privilege and custom of the 'king's own'." Needless to say, we expect the Human Rights Commission to do its duty—and we should like to be on hand when its representative, clothed, of course, with full powers, explains to a king who uses a live leopard for a footstool why he shouldn't collect wives.

*

COMMENTING LAST WEEK ON THE FIRING of ten Hollywood writers for refusing to tell the Un-American Committee whether or not they were Communists, we remarked that "anti-communism is a one-way through street" and that "once you enter it you either proceed to the end or you back out—quickly." Several readers have chosen to interpret this remark as a backhanded indorsement of communism, whereas we were referring, of course, to the red-baiting procedures of the Thomas committee and the Hollywood producers who did the firing. There is also an anti-communism, obviously, that has nothing in common with hysteria or the denial of civil rights, and from this kind of opposition the Communists are entitled to no more exemption than any other political group.

Confusion Confounded

IT IS now a month since the President opened the special session of Congress with a message asking for drastic powers to combat inflation. During these weeks, prices have continued to rise rapidly. Butter is again almost $1 a pound; eggs are hitting $1 a dozen. Quotations for industrial goods have been moving upward even more rapidly than those of farm products. In the past few days, sharp increases have been announced for tinplate, farm machinery, some automobiles, rayon yarn, and petroleum products.

This steady erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar should have served as a goad to government action. Yet, in the past month, no visible progress has been registered on the Washington front. For this, both the Administration and the Congress share the blame. Mr. Truman's ten points provided the working basis for a legislative program, but he has failed to sell his ideas to his own subordinates, not to mention Congress. We have had the unedifying spectacle of Cabinet officers—Anderson and Harriman for example—appearing before Congressional committees to damn the President's proposals with faint praise and to plug their individual policies. On the all-important question of checking credit inflation, discussed by Keith Hutchison in detail on page 681, Secretary of the Treasury Snyder and Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, men on whom Mr. Truman must rely for guidance in this field, have been publicly at loggerheads.

If the Republican majority in Congress had even a modicum of courage and wisdom, it would have seized the opportunity afforded by these divisions in the Administration to come forward with a really effective program of its own. But it, too, is split. Some of the younger members of the party realize that the situation is far too dangerous for indulgence in smart tactics. The concern of their leaders, however, has been to reap maximum political benefits with minimum disturbance of the boom that is filling the coffers of their supporters. They have issued a program that pays some homage to the principle of control, but in general approaches the subject in a

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vague and ultra-cautious manner. A very small part of this program has been embodied in a bill which merely authorizes government encouragement of voluntary agreements for the allocation of transport and of commodities in short supply. To make way for this feeble measure, they have thrust aside an Administration bill providing broad powers to ration food and other scarce goods and to establish priorities for key raw materials.

To encourage business cooperation, the bill proposes, for a limited period, to relieve parties to any agreement approved by the President from the operation of the anti-trust laws. This seems to us a highly dangerous proposal. In the case of industries in which supply is beginning to catch up with demand, protected voluntary agreements may prove popular, but they are more likely to stabilize high prices than help to bring them down. And in those industries whose production will for a long time remain unequal to demand, an agreement to stabilize prices or to equalize distribution can easily be thwarted by a few holdouts, for the bill fails to provide any powers of enforcement.

Let us consider, for instance, the current situation in oil. Some of the larger concerns have been trying to check the steady rise in prices, which they realize can do little to encourage higher production and much to give the industry a black eye with the public. They have been stymied by the competitive scramble for crude oil. Few of the big refiners have sufficient crude supplies of their own to insure capacity operation of their plants, and if one concern raises its buying price, the others must sooner or later follow suit or find themselves unable to fill orders. The latest attempt at stabilization was killed recently when Sun Oil (controlled by Pennsylvania's G. O. P. boss, J. Howard Pew) raised its buying price for crude by 50 cents to $2.57 a barrel, which compares with $1.27 when the OPA ended.

The real trouble in oil is that with a steadily rising demand for fuel oils there is not enough to go round. This has nothing to do with exports, since we are actually importing more oil than we ship. Voluntary allocations will not remedy the situation, for a few chiselers can render any agreement ineffective. If serious shortages in many areas, causing widespread suffering, are to be avoided this winter, *enforceable* price control and rationing measures are essential. And as even Senator Taft is beginning to discover, rationing of meat will be equally essential next spring when supplies will be far shorter than they are now.

The G. O. P. bill does not begin to grapple with such problems; its only purpose seems to be to mislead and confuse the voters. It is almost certain to be vetoed, if it passes Congress, for Mr. Truman has sharply condemned relaxation of the anti-trust laws. (Unfortunately, his position on this subject has been compromised by Secretary of Commerce Harriman's approval of the principle embodied in the bill.) Possibly, the Republicans not only expect but want a veto, with the idea that they could wash their hands of further responsibility for inflation. If that is their strategy, we hope the President counters it by sticking firmly to his program. But he will have to start by insisting that his department heads support his line instead of adopting conflicting positions of their own. The spectacle of the Cabinet at sixes and sevens is the most confounding of all the present confusions in Washington.

What Are We Afraid Of?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I SIT and ponder the fever over Communists and civil rights, the polite debate between the New York *Herald Tribune* and the leader of the E. B. White Party, the list of "subversive" organizations put out by the Justice Department, the Ernst-Hays dispute about "disclosure" as a preventive for subversion. I recall 1919-1920; more, I turn the pages of the *Nation* volumes for those years and try to fathom the reason for the epidemics of fright that have followed both world wars.

What in the name of Thomas Jefferson are we scared of? The raids under A. Mitchell Palmer, the ousting of duly elected Socialists from the New York Legislature, the unceremonious mass deportations of alien "reds"—what did they signify? Today, it is Communists that are thrown out of government jobs along with any others stamped as dangerous under the convenient and ugly theory of association. Today, there are not many aliens to ship abroad; the supply, owing to our tight immigration laws and fine screening, is short. But we grab those few who escaped the Nazis with left views and questionable papers, or who lied to save their lives, and convert usually quite harmless fugitives into criminal enemies of the state.

Can the fever to hunt heretics be laid to Moscow? Does it come from fear of imminent war? Does it come from a belief that this country—undamaged, over-flowing with goods, powerful beyond the dreams of any world conqueror—is in the danger of a Communist-led uprising of the workers? In spite of Russia's bluster and attempts to girdle its borders with safe satellite states, no one really believes the Soviet government could start, or successfully wage, a war. In the whole world, only the United States is capable of doing that. Nor do sane Americans seriously anticipate revolution. Our one visible, quite present danger is a new Harding era, with labor driven into division and bankruptcy and radicals chivvied underground and liberals organized—like. E. B.

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White—in "parties of one," ready to be swallowed in comfortable mouthfuls by those gentlemen we have so trustfully encouraged to save us from the reds. If the present hysteria is at all related to such fears, it is more as a general reaction to Russian provocations and refusal to cooperate in the ordinary business of international relations. (Quite naturally, we minimize, or even forget, our own less spectacular exhibitions of non-cooperation, such as Mr. Collins mentions on page 669.) We boil with anger at evidence of red injustice in Bulgaria or Rumania or red domination of French trade unions—and then easily transfer our emotion to the meager if irritating displays made by our few native Communists.

But why is our boiling-point so low, and why have we so little confidence in our own democratic stability? As Harold Laski said in his impressive article last week, "Powerful America does not appear to be a happy America." Some psychosis of guilt or dread, unrelated to our apparent national health or to the actual threats we face, must account for the terrible urge to mutilate our institutions in order to save them.

THINK back to 1919. Some say that our "danger" is greater today than then because Russia is a mighty military power—even minus the bomb—and the world Communist movement is its instrument of penetration and intimidation. I would dispute this argument. In 1919 and 1920, the Red Army was weak by 1947 standards. But the revolution was young and its ideas were potent and uncompromised. Then, as now, hungry workers without jobs rose against the system they blamed for the war and all that followed. Bavaria had a Soviet government and so did Hungary. (Belfast, too!) The Italian workers seized the factories in the north. The French Socialists split, but the majority section joined the Third International, as did the Spanish and Norwegian Socialists. The flood of revolution moved across Europe and menaced, much more immediately than today, the old states of Central and Western Europe.

It broke then, as it may break tomorrow, against Western capitalist power reinforced by grants-in-aid from America. The old gang got back. American capital bailed out Germany. Russia's fierce resistance was smashed by Allied intervention and Allied backing for White generals. Poland and the Baltic provinces were financed and armed solely to fight the Soviets. Horthy was tricked into power by Britain; Mussolini, a little later, took over in Italy. The Munich Soviet government collapsed in the blood of its great leader, Kurt Eisner; Luxemburg and Liebknecht were assassinated, and the Socialist Noske shot down Communist workers in Berlin. Whatever democratic vagaries Mr. Wilson exhibited at Paris, he was firmly and successfully dealt with by Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

But though reaction triumphed, the system that bred it never recovered. It was shattered by war, weakened by the fall of empires and territorial changes. The great European middle class lost much of its vitality through physical depletion and inflation. Capitalism pulled itself together again, but it was a shell of its old self—and the end of social revolution only marked the beginning of fascism.

Then, as now, and with as much reason, the United States rushed food to Europe to save lives and regimes. We intervened to crush revolution. And, even more frantically, we kicked democratic safeguards and legal processes out of the window.

WHAT was and is the psychosis that explains our behavior? Perhaps it is a sense, still unformulated and only half conscious, that our strength is less solid than it seems, that it is threatened, not by Russia or Communist drive, but by internal ailments that may be beyond cure—troubles related to gigantism and monopoly, to the steady weakening of really *free* enterprise, to the failure of capital to use its concentrated, almost unchecked power in ways that will preserve even itself, much less the economic stability of the nation or the world. People sense—dimly remembering the twenties—that our inflated prosperity is a symptom of disease, not a show of health. They know that private enterprise is, by its nature, the enemy of planning, except when it plans for its own larger return, but they suspect that only planning on a world scale can save the human race from catastrophe. If they listen to the primitive economics declaimed by most of the men who make our laws, they may outwardly applaud, but inwardly they ask: What's going to happen? Things don't feel steady.

The heresy hunt, I suspect, is a dodge to escape our own buried fears, our sense of restless insecurity. Free enterprise is all right. America is all right. They must be, because we've been told so, and the people that question it are working for Moscow. So let's get those people and we'll feel okay again. But back there, in the underground of the mind, saboteurs are at work telling us that what went on between 1919 and 1939 is still going on, only at a faster rate, and that even rich, tough America is not proof against it. A once-powerful system has been liquidated over much of the earth. It is prostrate, waiting for our strength to give it back the strength it lost through the crumbling of its foundations in two wars and a disastrous interval of revolution and fascist domination. Can we put the rotten system on its feet? Can we save our own not-so-sound system from similar collapse? The questions hang in the air and in the underlayers of the American consciousness.

Loyalty tests, red hunts, even liberal apologetics for "moderate" forms of repression—these are the compulsive, unreal answers our emotions provide to spare us the need of looking for the real ones.

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POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Wallace: the Incomplete Angler

THE time is rapidly approaching when Henry Wallace will have to fish or cut bait. Fifteen months is a long time to stand indecisively on the bank, rod over shoulder, and the fish are understandably beginning to lose interest. As long ago as last spring it became apparent that Phil Murray and the C. I. O. were lost to the Wallace-for-President cause; Senator Pepper discovered that Truman was the "salt of the earth" early in September; and A. F. Whitney inflicted the unkindest cut of all a few days later. Or at least the unkindest cut up to that moment. It seems to me that a more painful if less direct blow has just been dealt by Dr. Frank Kingdon, cochairman of the Progressive Citizens of America.

Wallace is not a member of the Progressive Citizens, but he has been their idol, the fixed star in their political sky, and the prime source of their gate receipts. As a reporter I have been to their rallies and observed how these meetings are built up through successive stages of laudation to a crescendo of enthusiasm for Henry A. Wallace, as man, as statesman, as leader. And none has been more lavish in his praise than Kingdon, none more scornful of the Democratic Party, none more ardent about a People's Party *now*—and none more successful in raising money for same.

Yet here is Dr. Kingdon writing in his New York *Post* column that the time has come for Wallace and Truman to smoke the pipe of peace. They must come together, he says, in order to prevent the Republicans from winning by default. This must be avoided, we are told, because the Republicans would "lift remaining controls, reduce business taxes, tighten labor restraints . . . increase inflation, and drive toward depression." And internationally they would make the Marshall Plan "openly and aggressively a program for irrevocably splitting the world in two." Not only does a Truman-Wallace rapprochement suddenly seem urgent, but, it turns out, there is ample basis for it in the present policy of the Administration. "Marshall," after all, "is basing his European policy on economic rather than political considerations," while at home "the President has taken the courageous step of recommending price controls and rationing to check inflation."

In contrast to these remarkable tributes by the cochairman of the P. C. A., Henry Wallace has been stumping the country with increasing bitterness toward Mr. Truman and mounting affection for a third party. There will be such a party, he says, unless the Democrats change their foreign policy, and unlike Dr. Kingdon he sees no sign whatever of a change in the offing. The prospect that a third party will force a Republican into the White House dismays him not at all. On the contrary, he is now on record as favoring Taft over Truman, because even though the Ohio Senator is "the most reactionary candidate," he is "sufficiently honest so that there would be no danger of fascism." This bitter if unintelligible piece of political analysis, coming as it did the day after a bid for his support by Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, had about it an air of finality that was hardly dissipated by the subsequent feeble effort to laugh it off as "make-believe." I think Henry Wallace has made his choice.

The same cannot yet be said of Kingdon. Having urged a rapprochement between Truman and Wallace and explained why progressives must rally to the Democratic standard, he has since gone barnstorming with Wallace, and his platform remarks on the Administration have been hardly more complimentary than they were before he wrote the column from which I have quoted. In Syracuse, for example, he called again for a "second party," a favorite formulation of his: "We are pretty tired of having just one party—one group of which marches under the Republican banner and the other under the Democratic one."

This political ambidextrousness has led some of Kingdon's followers to take the view that the column was merely a wishful dream on an off day, but others view it in the light of his own campaign for the Democratic Senatorial nomination in New Jersey. The tributes to Truman and Marshall, the plea for unity, and the renewed fealty to the Democrats are taken as his grand gesture toward the party whose nomination he seeks. On the other hand, his simultaneous agitation for a "second party" and his continued attacks on the Administration, only slightly less violent than Wallace's, appear to be both a measure of his doubt concerning the nomination and an indication of his course should that doubt be confirmed. In short, it looks from here as though Frank Kingdon will be a Democrat if he wins in the New Jersey primary and a Wallace third-party man if he loses.

Crystal-gazing is not the function of this column, but from what I have been able to gather in New Jersey I would say that Dr. Kingdon's doubts are well founded. The Democratic machine in the province of the Honorable Frank Hague has privately indicated that it would as soon plump for the man in the moon as for Frank Kingdon. And as for labor, the C. I. O. State Council is still waiting for the apology it formally requested of Kingdon in 1946, when he insulted its president, Carl Holderman, at a public dinner. The only thing that could bring the Jersey C. I. O. around to Kingdon would be the designation of a thoroughgoing reactionary by the Democratic bosses. Unless Hague has lost his cunning, he is not likely to allow them to make so foolish a blunder.

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The Anderson Plan

BY HENRY H. COLLINS, JR.

Washington, December 13

SOONER or later everybody gets into the act; now it's Clinton P. Anderson's turn. The Secretary of Agriculture has come up with a plan to increase world food production. He has proposed that the United States call a conference of the Ministers of Agriculture of food-exporting countries to discuss methods of increasing their output. This sounds good, but there's a catch: the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and its predecessor, the World Food Conference, have worked along the same lines for four years.

We have by-passed the U. N. in Greece and Turkey, under the Truman Doctrine. We are by-passing the U. N.'s Economic Commission for Europe, under the short- and long-range Marshall plans. It would appear that Mr. Anderson wants to replace FAO's cooperative efforts with a plan unilaterally imposed by the United States.

His proposal was made in a speech on November 20 to the Board of Trade in New York. Just ten days earlier the FAO had wound up a meeting in Washington attended by several of the Ministers of Agriculture whom Secretary Anderson proposed to summon to a conference. Representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture were also there. Some of the foreign delegates were still in Washington on the day Mr. Anderson spoke, but he never mentioned the FAO or its work.

The FAO is important for three reasons: first, it is the oldest of the U. N.'s specialized agencies. Conceived at the World Food Conference in Hot Springs in 1943, it came to life in Quebec in 1945. There, incidentally, the American delegation was headed by Anderson himself. Second, it has had from the beginning an active program for studying world food needs and production potentials, and practical means of making the latter match the former. It is interested in the small as well as the large farmer, in the nations of Eastern Europe as well as those of the West. Its majestic aim is to abolish hunger from the earth. Third, it has, with its fifty-four member nations, more participants than any other specialized agency of the U. N. The Soviet Union, which has refused to join, apparently considers information about food a political secret. Anderson's new plan would reinforce this unfortunate attitude by helping to make food a political weapon wielded by the United States.

HENRY H. COLLINS, Jr., a former member of the State Department, has been attached to several Congressional committees, including the Kilgore committee. He is the author of "America's Own Refugees."

In addition to its four conferences since 1945 and its extensive survey reports, the FAO has sent missions to Greece and Poland, and is on the point of sending new ones to Venezuela, Siam, Hungary, and the Near East. It is advising Czechoslovakia and Peru on fish storage and all Europe on means to expand timber production. It has made detailed plans to get more rice out of the Far East, more vegetable oil out of Southeastern Asia.

It could have done much more but for its lack of enforcement powers and the world-wide shortage of dollars. The United States could have helped to overcome both these difficulties; it did not do so. The Department of Agriculture could have instructed the American delegation at Geneva last summer to give real backing to the just-established World Food Council. Instead, we meekly trailed the British, who, although FAO was headed by that redoubtable Scotsman, Sir John Boyd Orr, did their best to keep the organization weak.

As for the dollar shortage, Mr. Anderson has rather vaguely suggested that $400,000,000 to $600,000,000 of Commodity Credit Corporation funds could be used—under proper American control and leadership, of course—to finance a food-for-export production program. This might be done. But the World Bank needs no new authorization to lend funds on the recommendation of the FAO, and it would hardly hesitate to make such loans if Anderson indicated his approval of them to Secretary of the Treasury Snyder.

Meanwhile the plan is beginning to take legislative form. On December 10 Representative Jesse P. Wolcott introduced a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to use CCC funds to stimulate agricultural production in non-European countries. The resolution was referred not to the Committee on Agriculture but to the Committee on Banking and Currency, of which Wolcott is chairman. Although observers here say the State Department is disturbed by this move, and by Anderson's whole scheme, no condemnation has as yet rumbled out of its portals. The White House too is silent.

In less than two years our State Department has succeeded in alienating the good-will of the bulk of the people in the major food-*receiving* countries, many of them our former allies. The Anderson plan, if adopted, will alienate the mass of the people in the food-*producing* countries. We would work primarily through the largest landowners—the *hacienderos* of Argentina, the vegetable and nut oil moguls of Malaya, the rice *propriétaires* of French Indo-China. American loans for machinery, fertilizer, and transport would solidify feudal agricultural regimes all over the world.

A plan authorized by the FAO and financed by the World Bank, on the other hand, would effectively promote a non-discriminatory, non-exploitative program for all farmers, in which, it is to be hoped, the Soviet Union would eventually participate.

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Orpheus Bound

BY MARY SMART AND MURIEL FOX

WHEN Artur Rodzinski, conductor of New York's Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, which has a radio audience of 13,000,000, threw down his baton in February of last year, thousands of concert artists and other musicians chuckled with satisfaction. They appreciated only too well the accuracy of his parting shot at the Philharmonic's Board of Directors: "Columbia Concerts, Inc., a concert management agency of which Arthur Judson is president, is often more important than the New York Philharmonic Symphony, which is treated as a subsidiary on occasion." The implication was, of course, that Arthur Judson, president of Columbia Concerts, the biggest agent for concert artists in this country, was in cahoots with Arthur Judson, manager of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, which engages more than twenty-five soloists a year. Young concerts artists, whose careers are launched or broken by Agent Judson or his chief rival, the National Concert Artists Corporation, hoped that Rodzinski's resignation would call attention to Judson's strangle-hold not only on the Philharmonic, touchstone of success for young soloists, but on the concert stage in general.

Arthur Judson, once a violinist, long ago discarded his fiddle for a career of concert management. By effecting a merger of his agency with several of his competitors in 1930 and selling a half-interest to the Columbia Broadcasting System, he formed the largest concert-booking agency in the country. His CBS tie-up gave him the inside track to radio talent and radio time, enabling him to build up his stars' reputations and box-office appeal. At about the same time National Concert Artists Corporation, an offshoot of the National Broadcasting Company, was organized to take similar advantage of radio-build-up possibilities. Now Columbia and NCAC control between them about 90 per cent of the long-hair musical talent in the country and are the sole suppliers of concert artists to more than a thousand American towns—most of the towns that ever see a live artist.

Inevitably a young musician can have but meager hope of success unless he is fortunate enough to be managed by one of the big two. That is why the six hundred yearly graduates of the ranking Eastern music schools besiege these agencies for a place on their roster. Not more than six of the six hundred ever get a contract from one or the other of them, and these chosen few are not always the best qualified for a successful career behind the footlights. "Breaks" and an inexhaustible supply of cash are as important as talent.

Imagine the plight of a talented young writer who knows that if his novel is turned down by two publishing houses, he will never see it published. Imagine a doctor who to make a living must be connected with one of two hospitals, a lawyer who must work through one of two firms. Suppose the theater had only two producers. A young actress would not unreasonably feel crushed if one of them turned her down, and she would feel still worse if she knew it was not because she lacked acting ability but because he already had as many young actresses under contract as he cared to manage. That is the situation the young musician faces when he embarks on a concert career.

THE trials of Jeanne Therrien, Juilliard '44, are typical of those of even the most promising young stars. Miss Therrien has studied the piano since she was five. In her twenty-odd years she has devoted about 40,000 hours to practicing and another 15,000 to the study of harmony, theory, counterpoint, score reading, and conducting. Each hour of practice, each lesson, each performance, was a step toward the crucial moment in her career, the New York debut: on this single performance hangs the young musician's chance to pull down glowing notices from New York critics and thus attract the attention of a big manager.

After her graduation from Juilliard, Jeanne won the Walter W. Naumburg Award, which gave her a recital with all expenses paid at New York's Town Hall, and the Leventritt Award, which permitted her to appear at Carnegie Hall as soloist with the Philharmonic Orchestra. She was the first girl in the history of the contests to capture both in one year. Her talent was recognized; success seemed assured.

Jeanne Therrien gave her two concerts in January and February, 1945. The reviews called her "a brilliant young pianist born to go places." Noel Straus of the New York *Times* said she was "one of the big talents." Willy Kapell, 1941 Naumburg winner, wrote that when he heard her playing a Rachmaninoff concerto with the Philharmonic over the radio he thought it was Horowitz. The next morning she confidently went to the office of the Columbia Concerts corporation expecting to walk

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out with a contract. Instead, she was told in effect: "There's no question about it. You're a top pianist. We are most impressed with your talent, with your performances, with your notices. However, it is very difficult to sell a woman pianist. And besides we have too many young pianists on our list already. Sorry. We can't give you a contract." It looked as if her professional career had died at birth.

The managers of the two big agencies admit that not many youngsters get contracts as a result of New York debuts. Yet booking agents on the road insist that they can sell only artists with New York critics' notices. They say that Denver, for example, won't pay to hear a pianist from Kansas City, nor Dallas to hear a singer highly regarded in Pittsburgh. So the most talented musician from Kansas or Pennsylvania must go to New York and give a recital. That means that he must somehow scrape up the money to hire a manager who can arrange his recital, get out publicity, send tickets to newspaper critics, and so on.

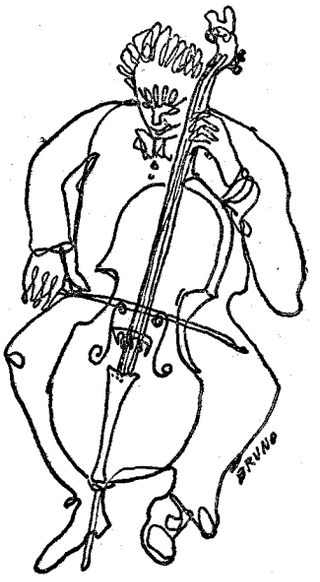
This year about 250 musicians will give recitals in New York's concert halls, and each of these concerts will cost the performer up to $1,800. Less than twenty-five of them will make expenses, let alone a profit. Usually the manager papers the house. Yet year after year artists skimp and save to follow the New York recital route. Once in a great while they hit the jackpot, like the remarkable Polish pianist, Maryla Jonas, whose enthusiastic reviews after her Carnegie Hall debut last year won her a Columbia contract, a solo performance with the Philharmonic, and a tour through the United States and South America during her first concert season. The majority fall by the wayside for lack of funds or lack of courage and perseverance. "You must have iron guts to survive," says one young artist who has been saving for three years to make her Town Hall debut.

IF THE going is so rough, why don't young artists go to smaller managers who have more time for them? An ingenious plan known as the organized audience supplies the reason. This is how the plan works:

Behind the imposing New York firm of Columbia Concerts is Community Concerts, a network of bookings stretching across the United States and Canada. A music salesman, pleasantly known at Columbia as a "missionary of culture," enters East Humbug, Nevada, meets the town's social leaders, and in practiced patter persuades them of the advantages of contracting for a Community Concerts series. He tells them that all they need to do is run a week's subscription drive and then choose a group of artists on the basis of the amount of money collected. Towns that fall in with this plan find they can get the pick of the world's concert artists without financial worry. Thus if a town raises $4,500, it may choose one high-priced artist, a Heifetz for example, at $3,500, and four lesser artists at $250 a piece. It cannot, however, raise $9,000 and get Pons, Rubinstein, and Menuhin. For this is a package business, and the package contains one prize piece, the expensive bonbon which sells it, and several fillers, wanted or not.

The partnership between Columbia and Community went well from the start. Columbia supplied top names, capital, and a large booking staff already in the field; Community supplied eager audiences. Columbia's rival, NBC's management organization, could hardly survive if it offered its artists less satisfactory national outlets; so NCAC also organized a local chain, Civic Concerts. The independent concert managers now found the sledding tougher than ever.

You might think that the package idea for subscription concerts, by requiring a number of lesser lights to be taken along with the tempting big names, would offer a splendid opportunity for young talent. It *has* given newcomers a chance to be heard, a chance to gain priceless experience. But at the same time by classing some artists as "big" and others as "little" it has forced the development of rigid price levels. And this often proves fatal for young musicians.



One twenty-four-year-old violinist, for example, got a contract with NCAC the day after his Town Hall debut. It was renewed each year until he went into the army in 1941, with his manager's last words ringing in his ears, "Let us know when you come back." But when he did go back after his discharge last summer, the manager told him that his pre-war notices were too dated: "You'll have to give a New York recital before we can put you back on our list," he said. Unfortunately the young violinist hadn't saved the necessary $1,000 from his G. I. pay. He couldn't earn $1,000 except by giving concerts. He couldn't give a concert without $1,000. Oddly enough, he took his predicament philosophically. "It's a matter of business," he said. "They want just so many artists at the various price levels, and there isn't room for another $250 violinist."

THE unknown young artist who gets a contract is still not on the path to glory when he starts off on the Community circuit. The standard routine for a "small" filler name is to play from ten to forty concerts a season in one of the eight "time blocks" into which Columbia has divided the country, and to play a different block each year. This makes it impossible for him to

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build up any sort of following, since he will not meet an audience a second time until eight years has passed. One of the leading American pianists summed up this complaint: "Repeat engagements are discouraged," she said. "There is no effort to keep your memory warm in the towns you've played, because you serve quite nicely just as you are—as filler to round out the list of big names at small cost to the community and to the management. For this service you take a reduced fee and pay a 15 per cent commission."

Playing the circuit with the anonymity of a circus clown, the filler artist is lucky to keep as much as half of his total fee before taxes. The agent takes 15 or 20 per cent; the rest goes for expenses. An NCAC violinist says, "I'm lucky if I can keep 30 per cent after I've paid railroad and hotel expenses for myself and my accompanist, my management and accompanist charges, and for advertising and publicity." Another NCAC artist wound up a twelve-concert tour with exactly $10 in take-home pay. One Naumburg winner, a sufficiently distinguished musician to be listed in "Who's Who," spent six months touring as an accompanist, for which he was paid $80 a concert. All expenses except railroad tickets came out of his pocket.

In the face of such conditions any young artist would turn to an independent manager if he could. But the independent manager is up against the organized-audience system as against a brick wall. Though Columbia declares it never starts a concert course where a local manager is already operating successfully, last year it organized a Community series in a Middle Western town to discipline an independent there who was not providing Columbia talent with sufficient outlets. To the local manager's complaints a Columbia representative replied, "You don't want this talent. What are we going to do with it? We have to sell it." Another independent manager who had been running a successful concert series in a Western city for twenty-six years met competition from NCAC's Civic chain for the first time last year. Soon after the first Civic concert, subscribers to the independent series telephoned to the manager to ask about a rumor that she was going out of business. After the first independent concert, a rumor circulated that subscriptions to the rest of the concerts were going to be canceled. The independent manager charged the local head of the Civic series with responsibility for the rumors. Finally she was forced to run a large newspaper ad to deny them. Such tactics may easily cause a local manager to fold up.

SHORTLY before World War II the Federal Communications Commission summoned Judson to Washington to explain some of the features of his business that might be construed as restraint of trade. The management companies moved quickly, however, and soon their booking organizations were formally divorced from the parent broadcasting companies. The FCC was apparently satisfied, though many of the independent managers regard the change as an administrative device rather than a genuine reform.

One of Rodzinski's chief grievances was Judson's refusal to give him a free hand in selecting guest conductors. Clearly, the retiring maestro felt that Judson's management of some fifty symphony-orchestra conductors had more influence on the choice of guest conductors for the Philharmonic than did the desires of its permanent leader. Aspiring concert artists who cannot afford Rodzinski's frankness have long believed that they would stand a better chance of obtaining the coveted solo engagements with the country's twenty-four major symphony orchestras if fewer of these orchestras were under Judson-managed batons. In hundreds of letters and telegrams the music world applauded Rodzinski's resignation—much as a Sunday School audience cheers David's fight with Goliath.

Among Rodzinski's well-wishers was Henry H. Reichhold, millionaire backer and president of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. "Congratulations on your forthright and courageous stand for musical freedom and independence," wired Reichhold. Then in a bold opening maneuver he bought all the stock of the Carnegie "Pop" Concerts, Inc., of New York, set up an artists' bureau, and prepared to make standardized "pop" concerts available to a thousand cities and towns at rock-bottom prices by developing orchestras of sixty or seventy musicians assembled under local management in various large cities.

These orchestras will tour the towns and cities in their areas with solo artists provided from New York. Reichhold offers his artists the chance to build up a radio following by appearing with the Detroit Symphony on the Sunday Evening Hour, which he has leased for fifty-two weeks. They can cut records with the Detroit Symphony for Vox Records, a Manhattan classical-record company which Reichhold acquired in January. Since he has already pulled out of the red two failing musical enterprises—the Detroit Symphony and the trade magazine *Musical Digest*—the musical world can scarcely ignore his entrance into the field of management. Reichhold says: "I think you will see some present concert organizations breaking up. The time is ripe."

To people familiar with the situation this seems more like a threat than a promise. The quality of the music Reichhold plans to circulate and his uncertain reputation as a disinterested musical benefactor do not insure his success as a full-fledged competitor to the big two. It is generally agreed, however, that the chemical manufacturer's—or another's—millions are a prerequisite for breaking into the securely held territory of Columbia Concerts and NCAC.

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Save the Public Domain!

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Spokane, December 5

THE natural resources of the United States, Secretary Krug recently reported to the President, can sustain the Marshall Plan. But if a handful of monopolies in the cattle, lumber, fruit, and fishing industries have their way in the Far West, where the country's resources are now largely concentrated, Mr. Krug's report will no longer give a true picture. The present Congress cannot be counted on to restrain these looters of the public domain, but the President, in his speech dedicating the Everglades National Park, implied he might veto any legislation permitting the exploitation of public lands for private gain. "There are always plenty of hogs trying to get our natural resources for their own benefit," he said, to a round of applause.

From the Continental Divide to the Pacific a relentless campaign is under way to breach the ramparts which conservationists from Teddy to Franklin Roosevelt have erected around the timber, grass lands, and rivers belonging to the American people. The campaign takes many forms. In one state it may be an effort to discredit the United States Forest Service, in another an attempt to exalt the Army Engineers at the expense of the Bureau of Reclamation. Five hundred miles away it may appear in a demand that land first claimed for the national government by Lewis and Clark be turned over to the tender mercies of the state of Wyoming or Montana. Its effects extend even to Alaska.

This unholy crusade has lately been accelerated. The ranchers, "gyppo" loggers, and corporation farmers behind it have suddenly realized that next November the voters may replace this Congress with a group of legislators more devoted to the general welfare. Now, they are aware, is the time to put through their schemes. Their chances look particularly good while Representative Frank A. Barrett of Lusk, Wyoming, who is firmly tucked in the stockman's saddlebag, heads the Public Lands subcommittee in charge of the Western pastures.

Barrett has been conducting hearings along the Pacific seaboard on a series of bills to end Forest Service control over the range. The word "hearings" is a euphemism; "inquisition" would be more accurate. Rangers and foresters are bullied by the committee, which through its appropriation power controls their jobs. Ranchers whose herds have grazed the range bare are treated as though they were monarchs of the region, which in fact many of them aspire to be with Barrett's connivance. Last week Barrett ordered the Forest Service to reduce no range allotments for three years. This means that hillsides and valleys now being overgrazed will get no relief. They must feed sheep and cattle until the last anchoring blade of grass is gone and the soil begins to blow. Flash floods and drought will supersede the rhythmic surge of mountain rivers, and the ten million Westerners whose drinking water comes from streams which rise in national forests will face a shortage.

To Barrett and his Congressional associates the equity of a few million city dwellers in a watershed is mere claim-jumping as compared with the squatters' rights exercised by four or five stockmen. Barrett would wreck America's system of national forests by permitting the 80,000,000 acres of grazing land within their borders to be reduced to dust. He has even grimmer designs on the magnificent Jackson Hole National Monument in his own state of Wyoming (as was reported in *The Nation* of October 25). In 1943 Barrett persuaded Congress to abolish the monument completely, but President Roosevelt wisely and courageously vetoed the bill. Barrett has now reintroduced the measure. It is almost more than he and his confederates can bear to see 222,929 lush acres in the shadow of the Grand Tetons protected from the bicuspids of grazing herds, particularly in this period of epic prices for sirloins. They consider it immaterial that the wide swales of Jackson Hole under the protection of the Forest Service might be a camping place for numberless generations of Americans.

Fortunately people who treasure the outdoors are awake at last to the purposes of the cattle crowd in Congress. The Izaak Walton League of America, the American Forestry Association, and the American Planning and Civic Association are organizing their members against the move to abolish Jackson Hole and strip the national forests. The *Ladies' Home Journal* has printed a strong editorial condemning the attempt to grab the grazing lands. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has assailed the attack on Jackson Hole, to which he contributed 33,500 acres as an addition to the federal domain. (At any moment now Barrett will probably demand that these subversive forces reveal whether or not they have ever been members of the Communist Party.) "Should the Jackson Hole Monument be abolished," warns Kenneth A. Reid, executive director of the Izaak Walton League, "it would lend aid and encouragement to those groups that seek to appropriate for themselves the federal lands belonging to all the people of the United States."

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When the utilities performed their skulduggery in the twenties, they used the claims of widows and orphans to cloak their greed. The looters of the public domain may use war veterans, especially disabled veterans, in the same way. Representative William A. Lemke of North Dakota, Father Coughlin's candidate for the Presidency in 1936, is author of a bill which would divide up the vast Tongass National Forest of Alaska among the men who served in World War II. Each man could settle on 1,920 acres. This means that, immense as the Tongass reserve is, only 2,500 veterans would benefit, less than .02 per cent of the 14,000,000 men who were in uniform.

The Tongass Forest has prodigious stands of hemlock and Sitka spruce. Its pulpwood is the most valuable resource left in Alaska. On the forest's mountain divide rise the streams which supply drinking water to Ketchikan, Juneau, Petersburg, and Skagway. The Lemke bill imposes no conservation rules. The lucky veteran in possession of 1,920 acres of virgin spruce could cut it bare or sell it to a logging company. A densely covered holding might be worth $50,000. A handful of veterans could get rich—and Southeastern Alaska would be a wasteland. Yet this unbelievable measure already has been passed by the House unanimously. Unless it is blocked in the Senate, plans for an orderly pulp and paper industry in Alaska will crumble into an orgy of speculation and bribery.

THE clouds in the Western sky are still small, but if they combine they may bring a disastrous storm. Corporation farmers in the Central Valley of California want to have the Army Engineers replace the Bureau of Reclamation in charge of dam-building because the engineers don't restrict land ownership on projects to 160 acres and don't generate power for sale to troublesome municipalities and publicly owned districts. The National Reclamation Association is lending its influence to an attack on the power-production feature of reclamation projects, although the sale of power reduces the cost of irrigating land by at least 50 per cent. The reasons are not hard to find. Rufus Woods, Republican editor of the Wenatchee, Washington, *Daily World,* is the man who first proposed the construction of the great dam at Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. Last week Woods wrote in his paper, "The National Reclamation Association has gone into the hands of men who act as though their whole duty is to the private power companies." While professing staunch loyalty to the cause of irrigation, the association is actually overlooking no opportunity to add to the expense of generating power on reclamation projects. The competing utility companies come first, the irrigation farmers second.

This week hearings began in Idaho on the proposal of the federal government to construct a $212,000,000 dam at Hell's Canyon on the Snake River, in the core of the deepest chasm on the continent. The Idaho Power Company is resisting the proposal on the ground that the water impounded by the Hell's Canyon dam would drown out a power-company site sixty-five miles upstream. Idaho Power proposes to develop 135,000 kilowatts. Hell's Canyon would generate 1,330,000 kilowatts and improve navigation into the heart of the Inland Empire. Even more important, Hell's Canyon would make available a huge supply of cheap electricity for mining the five billion tons of phosphate rock in Idaho, the highest-grade vein in the world. This fertilizer is sorely needed in America; in China it might save the country from famine and dictatorship. But Idaho Power may win out over Hell's Canyon. The 1946 election delivered Oregon and Idaho into the gentle hands of the utility companies. The late Governor Earl Snell of Oregon vetoed a bill to permit Idaho Power to build a dam on the Snake River above Hell's Canyon, but the Oregon legislature, with eighty-four Republicans among its ninety members, overwhelmingly canceled the veto.

All along America's western seaboard, from Mexico to the Arctic Circle, men eager to get possession of the country's natural wealth realize that the Eightieth Congress offers them their great opportunity to break down the controls set up to protect the public. Even controls imposed during the halcyon days of Coolidge and Hoover are wicked in the eyes of this Congress. Traveling "gyppo" sawmills are felling the forests as swiftly as saws can rip wood; the big companies like Weyerhaeuser and Crown-Zellerbach know that a sustained-yield program is the only way to stay in business, but the nomadic "gyppos" want to "cut out and get out." A few years ago the state of Washington was the country's main lumber producer. In 1947 it will cut less than half as much as Oregon, now the last stronghold of the big trees. In Oregon, too, the blade moves faster than seedlings can grow. Portland was recently the leading lumber seaport of the nation. Now the forests near Portland are gone, and the title belongs to a tiny salt-water town named Coos Bay in southwestern Oregon.

The Krug report, which took an optimistic view of this country's ability to support the Marshall Plan, will be rendered obsolete if Congress is not restrained by public opinion. Amid all the efforts to open the resources of the nation to unlimited gouging and grabbing, the only encouraging note is that the shelter belt of trees on the Great Plains has succeeded in holding down the topsoil. Thousands of farmers have told the Soil Conservation Service that they are still on their land because the shelter belt has been a success. Perhaps some of these farmers may remember the conservation plans of the President who was ridiculed a decade ago when he suggested that rows of evergreens, lined up like soldiers, might protect the sod from wind and erosion.

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The Palestine Fight—an Inside Story

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

WHEN the partition of Palestine was voted by the General Assembly on November 29, two months and four days had elapsed since the opening of the discussions. More than a million dollars had been spent by the U. N. in an operation begun six months before, when, at the request of the British, an extraordinary session was called to advise on the future form of government in Palestine.

On September 1 the Special Committee of Inquiry (UNSCOP), which had spent three solid months investigating the situation in Palestine and in Europe, presented a report, signed by a majority of the eleven members, recommending the establishment of two independent states. On September 25 a committee of fifty-seven, representing all members of the U. N., which came to be known as the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, met to receive the report of UNSCOP and to decide on recommendations to be made to the General Assembly. It was expected that the majority report would be adopted with little delay, and that the United States delegates would take the initiative in urging its adoption, since the partition proposal embodied the views expressed on more than one occasion by the President and was in line with this country's traditional position.

The United States did not take the initiative. Instead the American delegation lent itself to a policy of protracted delay and encouraged the piling up of obstacles, including threats of an Arab revolt, designed to defeat UNSCOP's proposals and thereby open the way for continuing control by the British. It was hoped in some quarters that a modification of the Morrison-Grady plan, advanced in 1946 and at that time rejected by the United States government, might be accepted as a compromise between the majority and minority reports of UNSCOP. Under such a plan Britain would remain for five years more in Palestine, during which time the Western world might win its war—cold or atomic—against Russia.

The plan was a British plan. But playing the British game until the last moment were certain members of the State Department, some American military leaders, and the Combined Chiefs of Staff, a British-American leftover of World War II. Early in September it looked as if Secretary Marshall, and the President too, would be drawn into the scheme. This accounts for the fact that although the United States was committed in advance to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth, its delegates gave no indication of where it stood until October 11, forty days after UNSCOP reported and sixteen days after the Ad Hoc Committee met.

In the interval there were well-authenticated reports that the President had been persuaded that defense interests required capitulation to Arab demands. These rumors were silenced for a time when the United States delegation came out on October 11 with a statement favoring the majority report. But that statement was not made until leaders of public opinion, including several important political figures, brought the matter personally to the attention of the President and received his assurance that partition would be supported.

The President kept his word. It was primarily his insistence, backed by vociferous public and press demands cutting across party lines, that prevented a gigantic double-cross in which Loy Henderson, director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, and his group in the State Department would have been accomplices. It must be kept in mind that although the Constitution intrusts foreign policies to the President, foreign affairs are actually conducted by the State Department. It is the State Department to which the U. N. delegation is responsible and from which it regularly receives its instructions.

In the delegation were warm advocates of partition and sincere friends of the Jewish cause, such as Mrs. Roosevelt and Ambassador Austin. When General Hilldring, long familiar with the refugee problem, was added as a special adviser on the Palestine question, confidence was increased. But his appointment was offset by the addition of James Wadsworth, the American representative in Iraq, whose opposition to Zionist aims is intense and outspoken, and of a number of ill-informed, small-fry career diplomats-in-the-making. The sympathies of Herschel Johnson, United States representative on the Palestine committee, were in doubt. But he was known as an experienced official who would follow instructions closely.

SOON after the opening of the General Assembly Secretary Marshall, head of the delegation, became immersed in preparations for the meeting of Congress and the conference of Foreign Ministers. John Foster Dulles, on the Palestine question as on other matters the evil genius of the American delegation, was strongly of the opinion that the U. N. had no legal right to deal with the question—a view put forward by the Arab states and within one vote of being adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee as late as November 24.

Throughout the session the American delegation took its orders from Loy Henderson. Not until ten days be-

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fore the actual vote was President Truman brought into the picture again and made aware of the disparity between his pledges and the department's instructions.

In the interval the delegation engaged in three levels of activity: (1) formal actions based on the pledges of the President, which committed the United States to support the majority plan; (2) a quiet process of attrition of the majority plan; (3) delaying tactics while decisions waited on instructions from the State Department. At the same time the British, in close alliance with the Arabs, were busily developing opposition to the partition plan, particularly among the Latin American delegations. Harold Beeley, the British Foreign Office expert, sat in with Subcommittee II, which dealt with the Arab proposals. Hadow, the British liaison man for Latin America, was unceasingly active. "Shadow Hadow," as he was called, wearing a black patch over one eye on alternate days, in the fashion of the classical pirate, worked until the very last minute to prevent a majority for partition.

What the State Department attitude was may be gauged from the following facts: On September 26 and again on October 16 Arthur Creech-Jones, the British Colonial Secretary, appeared before the Ad Hoc Committee and said that the British government intended to terminate the mandate at will, that it would accept no responsibility for implementing a decision not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews, and it would accept no decision that it did not believe to be just. Yet on October 31, when the United States, after holding up for one week the work of the subcommittee, produced its own proposal for implementation, it was based on the idea that the British would implement the partition plan.

On October 31 and November 13, 17, and 20 the representatives of the British government rejected every scheme of implementation involving even the most minor cooperation on the part of Britain. Not until November 22, when the subcommittee on implementation had been working for a month, did the United States offer its first public reproof to the British government and announce its intention of proceeding regardless of the British position. The whole U. N. was permitted to mark time and suffer snub after snub from the British.

ON OCTOBER 11, when the American delegation announced support of the majority plan, it indicated that it would ask for certain geographic changes, mentioning specifically only the transfer of Jaffa from the Jewish to the Arab state. On October 23 the subcommittee was named to work out the practical details of partition, including boundaries, the status of the city of Jerusalem, and economic union of the two states. The American delegation did not agree to final boundary changes until November 25, when the report of the subcommittee had already reached the Ad Hoc Committee, the very day of the vote. The representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine had themselves offered to give up Jaffa and had proposed eleven other boundary changes. In return for these changes, which would have added one million dunams to the Jewish state, they offered 2,300,000 dunams in the southern Negev to the Arab state. In this exchange the number of Arabs in the Jewish state would have been decreased about 22 per cent, and the Arab state would have had a net gain of some two million dunams.

The chief obstacle to the adoption of these proposals was the State Department. It accepted the Jaffa exchange, but made many other claims, the most important being a demand that 8,000,000 dunams in the Negev, including the port of Aquaba—the whole Negev had been granted to the Jewish state by UNSCOP—should be given to the Arab state. Most revealing was the fashion in which the demand was made. At no time was the issue raised in the working committee, the Ad Hoc Committee, or the General Assembly. It was discussed privately in the hope that the Jewish Agency could be persuaded to acquiesce on the assurance that only in this way could the two-thirds' majority be obtained. As if the members of the U. N. actually knew, understood, or cared about detailed boundary differentials!

The American delegation, acting under instruction from the State Department, was prepared to have Subcommittee I present a report to the Ad Hoc Committee, but the Americans reserved the right to reopen discussions on boundaries and on economic union. Had this happened, it would have invited other revisions and even possible defeat of the majority plan. Only the direct intervention of President Truman prevented it. On Wednesday, November 19, the President issued a directive that the American reservations were to be withdrawn. Actually, they were not withdrawn until November 25, and then only after renewed White House pressure. As a result of American demands the Jewish state lost some 2,000,000 dunams.

On the afternoon of November 24 I was informed that a new monkey wrench had been tossed in by the British, who had warned the State Department—and the name of Loy Henderson was mentioned specifically—that if it proceeded with the partition proposals it would be made to rue the day by Communist infiltration into Palestine and the alleged alliance among the Russians, the Irgun, and the Stern gang. "What is going to happen?" I asked my informant. "They are going to take a Gandhi-like attitude," he said; "they'll wait and see!"

The State Department did wait. Four days later, when Ambassador Parodi—for understandable reasons, which, however, do him and France no honor—proposed a twenty-four-hour adjournment to allow a new conciliation move, it was not the United States but the delegate of Poland, Dr. Lange, who challenged the proposal.

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While the Arab states were thundering their threats of revolt and bloodshed unchallenged, the same Loy Henderson who was issuing instructions for the physical reduction of the Jewish state was also supervising the planning of a program involving hundreds of millions of dollars for irrigation and reclamation projects in the countries of the Middle East, to be financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with the United States supplying engineers and materials.

THE Arab delegations have made many accusations about the strong-arm methods used by the United States to insure the votes necessary to carry the partition proposal. Let us examine the record. As far as I am aware the United States produced perhaps one important vote, the vote of the Philippines, and then only when it became a matter of face-saving; by November 29 this vote was no longer necessary to insure the two-thirds' majority. On Monday, November 24, one day before the vote in the Ad Hoc Committee on the majority plan, a highly placed official informed me that in the view of the State Department three more votes were needed. Yet on that same day the American delegation's staff was not aware that Haiti and Liberia had been instructed to vote "no" in the plenary session.

On Wednesday, November 26, the plenary session met; it was known that there had been seventeen abstentions in the Ad Hoc Committee on the previous day. If the vote of the Ad Hoc Committee were repeated in the Assembly, the partition proposal would be one vote shy, and Haiti's was the balancing vote. The session opened with the speeches of the Philippines, Paraguay, and Greece. Neither the Philippines nor Paraguay had been present during the vote in the Ad Hoc Committee. What three votes ought to have been more certain if the Americans were interested in assuring a two-thirds' majority? But Greece, the Philippines, and Paraguay announced that they would vote "no."

Mr. Dickerson, a member of the delegation staff, when asked by the Siamese delegate how he should vote, said it was a matter of indifference to the American delegation. The delegate of Siam voted "no" in the Ad Hoc Committee. By chance his credentials were withdrawn on November 26 and his vote could not be cast in the plenary session.

Last week Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Pakistan delegate, an ardent and able advocate of the Arab case, who left before the plenary vote, in a cable to a New York paper described the delegate of Haiti casting his vote for partition "with tears in his eyes." This was to show how American pressure had been exercised on small countries. The delegate of Haiti was never approached by the United States. In fact, the story of Haiti's vote illuminates the entire State Department attitude.

Early in the debate, the representative of Haiti indicated that his government favored partition. He received new instructions by cable over the week-end of November 22. An investigation by friends of Haiti disclosed that the reversal was based on anger at the cavalier fashion in which a Haitian mission had been treated by the United States government after three and a half months of vain effort to obtain a five-million-dollar loan from this country—a loan, incidentally, which, doubled in amount, Haiti is about to get from Perón! If Haiti hoped by withholding its vote to put pressure on the United States, its action was perfectly understandable. The Haitian government was persuaded to return to its initial position by liberal friends on moral grounds alone.

Liberia is another interesting case. Up to two o'clock Friday, November 28, the delegation of Liberia, representing a government which has a State Department adviser, was never approached by a representative of the United States. Its intention to cast a negative vote was changed through the efforts of friendly, unofficial Americans. If space allowed, several other equally significant instances could be cited.

By the evening of November 28 even the State Department could no longer stall in face of the Presidential directive. For perhaps the first time in the more than two months of deliberations the American delegation was instructed to hold the lines and to insure that nothing would prevent a vote on the report as the first business on the agenda of the plenary session. These directives were issued by the President from the White House and Secretary Marshall from London. This time they could not be ignored.

On Saturday afternoon, November 29, Herschel Johnson for the first time was permitted to tell the Arabs and the British that the Americans would stand for no more nonsense. And because he said it directly, firmly, mincing no words, the parliamentary maneuvers of the Arabs, British, and Colombians failed; a prepared resolution for simple adjournment was never offered.

When the vote of thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions, was finally registered, the United States and the Soviet Union together had produced the first constructive act of the United Nations.

IT IS worth-while analyzing how this remarkable example of teamwork was achieved in a session distinguished by the most violent disagreements between the two powers on every other issue. It was not an accident. The Russians want the British out of the Middle East. The establishment of two independent states in Palestine was a means of accomplishing this purpose. But it must be said to the credit of the Russians that in working for this end they were the only big power to display firmness and morality. The Russians are still being accused of playing for an alliance with the Arabs; yet they alone among the major delegations dared to

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challenge the role, the record, and the participation of the Mufti and his Arab Higher Committee. And it was the Russians who at every point tried to prevent the attrition of the majority report and to secure for the Jews their just demands.

But in the last resort the victory was won by the committee known as Subcommittee I. It consisted of nine members, all of whom favored partition and none of whom were unfriendly either to the Soviet Union or the United States. It was the only U. N. committee in which the British were given no opportunity to run interference for the United States against the Soviet Union. And although there were two dominion members on the committee—Canada and South Africa—both, and particularly Lester Pearson of Canada, worked with the greatest good-will to get agreement.

The fact that this was a homogeneous committee was not the result of State Department design. On the contrary, the Americans tried to have France and Brazil added to it, although neither had then indicated its attitude on partition. Representatives of the United States approached the Polish chairman, Mr. Pruszynski, with the suggestion that the two countries be included. He declined to act on the ground that he had no authority. When a similar proposal was made to Dr. Evatt, he too refused to be budged. Together Guatemala, Uruguay, Venezuela, Poland, and Canada, during four weeks of delicate negotiations, worked day and night to keep the committee moving and to defeat the delaying tactics of the State Department. In the end it was these countries and the dominions which made possible the affirmative vote; and Dr. Evatt's extraordinary skill which enabled it to be taken within three days after the report was submitted.

It remained for the State Department to supply the final note of cynicism. In Subcommittee I it had been agreed unanimously that the Palestine commission should consist of Iceland, Norway, Poland, Guatemala, and Uruguay. Usually it is the custom to reward delegations for work accomplished. No delegates worked harder on the partition proposals than those of Guatemala, Uruguay, and Poland. The first two had served on UNSCOP and had been invaluable members of Subcommittee I. After six months of work they had become experts on a question requiring experts. Without the agreement of the subcommittee the State Department decided that the Palestine commission should be changed. The slate was unceremoniously scrapped, and five new members were chosen at the last moment, on November 29, with the Philippines included—obviously as a reward for voting "yes."

Last week Loy Henderson called a meeting of division heads, including Herschel Johnson. There Johnson was reprimanded by Henderson for having so successfully carried out the President's directive on Palestine!

Russia Speculates on Britain

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, December 1

GREAT BRITAIN is the strongest country of Western Europe, and from the Russian point of view its future policy is therefore of capital importance. Also Britain is on the boundary between Europe and America, not only geographically but politically, economically, and culturally; in all these respects it is a "special case." In addition, it is the stronghold of "right-wing socialism, enemy number one of democracy," as the Russian papers say—a socialism which, according to the *Literary Gazette*, now an important political organ, "is safeguarding the interests of big business at home and acting as the ally of big business in America." In distinction from France and Italy, Britain has no large Communist Party. It only has its anti-Bevinites, like Mr. Zilliacus and others, who were well received in Moscow and taken seriously. But Russians are convinced that there *must* be strong trends of thought among Englishmen basically hostile to America with its avowed anti-socialism and favorable to a rapprochement with Eastern Europe, particularly with Russia. Britain is thus something of a puzzle: while the Labor government, in the Russian view, has "betrayed socialism," the people have a greater liking for the Socialist way of life than most other nations. What surprises many Russians is that the Labor government should not have put these Socialist instincts of the British people to better uses.

One criticism often heard is that England is muddling along, relying on being spoon-fed by America, instead of making a great and imaginative effort. As regards foreign trade, greater freedom from American imports is needed, with more trade with the Empire and more with Eastern Europe and Russia. It is believed here that two schools of thought exist in the British government—Sir Stafford Cripps and Harold Wilson representing the "European" and Mr. Bevin the "American" school; it is also believed that Cripps and Wilson are extremely anxious (as Cripps recently told Mr. Zarubin) to see the trade talks succeed and that Bevin is not. Naturally, Bevin's influence is held largely responsible for the breakdown in August.

Great Britain, it is hoped, is becoming more readily reconciled than America to the new order of things in Eastern Europe. It is not, however, treated much more considerately than America in the Soviet press or in the

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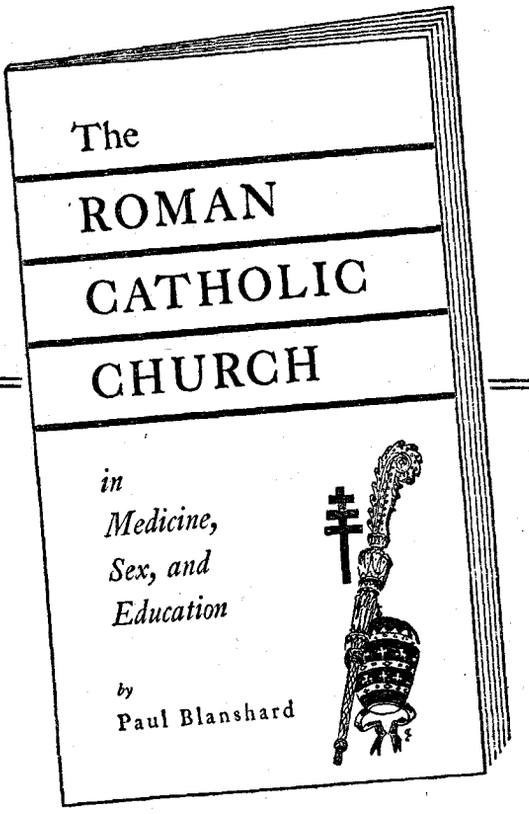
highly polemical literature which, following in the footsteps of Simonov's play about American press lords, has found a fruitful subject in denouncing and ridiculing this or that group of Britons and Americans. In a recent number of the *Literary Gazette* the popular author Yuri Germann has a story about British naval officers in a northern Russian port during the war who solemnly ask the scandalized Russian officers to provide a brothel for British seamen. "In these matters," says the British spokesman, "we are not idealists like you but realists." (Incidentally, the story contains no mention of the famous convoys.) The *Literary Gazette* also printed a three-column attack by a Kirghiz poet on a British delegate to the United Nations who had suggested that Russia also has its colonial peoples: was a Malay or Papuan poet, this Mongol poet asked, ever honored by a British admiral on board a battleship as *he* was when he visited the Soviet navy? His conclusion is that there is no color bar or race discrimination in Russia.

In a hundred different ways self-confidence, pride of country, and faith in the superiority of Russia's cause in the great ideological struggle now in progress are being instilled into the Soviet people. The economic, and even the mental, confusion and lack of direction in Western Europe are constantly played up. And it all has an effect. For the ideological struggle Russia considers itself particularly well equipped, and its self-confidence has been heightened by the relatively good progress made this year in both industry and agriculture. American capitalism, even armed with atom bombs, provides—so the argument runs—no valid solution to the troubles of hungry people. American credits can only be a palliative, of small economic value but of dangerous political consequences: one must expect duplications of the "Greek situation" in Austria, France, and elsewhere. Britain, it is felt, being sharply conscious of the "disgrace" of the Greek situation, will not wish to see it repeated, least of all in vital spots like France or Austria. It may yet "move a little to the east," and in doing so discourage the imposition on Europe of any Marshall Plan with grave political implications.

These, in a very general way, are some of the factors of the present world conflict as seen from Moscow. To say, as some British observers have done, that Russia is not interested in what its relations are to be with Britain is totally untrue, for Britain is still in a position to use its influence in lessening the existing tension. The Russians are convinced that even if America has a powerful "war party," Britain is profoundly anti-war, and they are by no means certain that Britain is irretrievably anchored to America. But until a change is visible, the abuse of England will be on a par with that of America.

As for the Belgrade Informbureau, it is described as a "warning" and a "precaution" against Gaullism and other American-sponsored movements.



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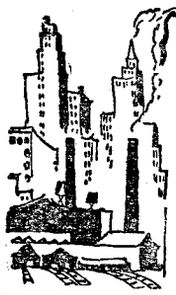

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

When Bankers Disagree

MOUNTING imports of gold, I pointed out last week, have created a dilemma for the Treasury. Secretary Snyder wants to "sterilize" this gold, that is, prevent it from adding to a total of currency and credit already dangerously large. Instead of issuing new gold certificates against bullion, he would like to buy it with surplus Treasury cash. The result would be that Treasury bank deposits would be diminished to the same extent that those of the gold sellers were enhanced, leaving the total of bank deposits, the basis for credit creation, unchanged.

Unfortunately, this method of gold sterilization, while it closes one inflationary door, opens another, since it reduces funds for the retirement of government securities. In recent months reduction of the national debt has partially checked the forces making for credit inflation. However, to control the situation effectively, the Treasury needs to continue debt retirement *and* to neutralize the $2 billion to $3 billion in gold likely to be added to reserves in the next year. This could be done if the Federal Reserve banks offset gold purchases by reducing their security holdings to an equivalent extent. But such a move is ruled out by Mr. Snyder because it would tend to reduce prices of government bonds and to raise interest rates.

An alternative has been suggested by Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board, who asked Congress for authority to impose special-reserve requirements on the banks in addition to those now in force. These special reserves, which would not exceed 25 per cent of demand deposits or 10 per cent of time deposits, would take the form of cash or short-term government securities. In effect, the plan would freeze part of the banks' holdings of low-yielding government securities and prevent their sale to finance new loan demands. As a result lendable funds would be scarcer and commercial interest rates would tend to rise, while the cost of government borrowing would not be directly affected.

This ingenious scheme has been hotly attacked by many bankers, and although it seems to offer the Treasury a possible avenue of escape from its dilemma, Mr. Snyder himself will have nothing to do with it. He told the House Banking and Currency Committee that he believed the Eccles plan would not achieve its author's ends and would intensify the problem of debt management.

Bankers' criticisms have been more specific. The Federal Advisory Council, composed of leading bankers from all Federal Reserve districts, insists that the Eccles plan is a step toward "socialization of banking" in that it substitutes the edicts of a Washington board for the judgment of banking directors throughout the country. The council also regards the plan as impractical. A percentage increase in required reserves sufficient to restrain some banks, it points out, would have disastrous effects on others, forcing them to call sound loans and so handicap production. Finally, the council declares, the Treasury and Federal Reserve system already have ample powers to control credit inflation if they choose to use them.

At this point the bankers not only part company with Secretary Snyder but begin to argue among themselves. The most effective means of credit control available to the Federal Reserve system is intervention in the bond market. By buying government securities it can add to the total credit supply; by selling, it subtracts from it. In view of the system's enormous resources—its holdings of "governments" exceed $22 billion—its operations largely determine market prices. Recently, while permitting interest rates on short-term securities to rise somewhat, the Reserve banks have been buying longer-term issues with a view to keeping quotations above par and maintaining long-term interest rates at 2½ per cent. Mr. Snyder wants this policy continued; he is naturally anxious to prevent a rise in debt charges. Mr. Eccles agrees: he is worried lest a rise in interest rates unsettle the whole bond market, causing large-scale liquidation of securities and the weakening of both public and private credit. That is why he has proposed to check credit expansion by rather unorthodox means.

Most bankers, however, recoil automatically from the unfamiliar. They tend to favor an "open market" policy directed toward the lifting of interest rates but debate among themselves about how far and fast the movement should be permitted to go. J. Stewart Baker, chairman of the Bank of Manhattan Company, seems to approve the N. A. M.'s recent proposal that interest rates be allowed "to seek their own levels." The Federal Reserve system, he has declared, "should abandon all commitments—stated or implied—to hold yields on United States government securities at specific levels." On the other hand, Edward E. Brown, influential president of the First National Bank of Chicago, told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee: "Personally, I think the bond market must be supported." And Allan Sproul, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, while vehemently opposed to the Eccles plan, warned that "strong" use by the authorities of their existing powers would create severe deflationary pressure and might well lead to depression.

With so much disagreement among the experts, Congressmen who are pondering the President's request for curbs on credit inflation can hardly be blamed for a bewilderment calculated to inhibit any effective action. In the G. O. P. anti-inflation bill the only clause affecting credit is one raising the gold backing of currency in circulation from 25 to 40 per cent. This will have little immediate influence on the situation since present gold reserves actually stand at 48.7 per cent of the note issue. Nor is the forthcoming ¼ per cent rise in the rediscount rate likely to have more than a temporary psychological effect on credit expansion.

Personally, I believe that if banking opposition blocks the Eccles plan, the Federal Reserve system will be compelled to adopt an open-market program designed to lift interest rates gradually. Admittedly, that will prove a difficult, perhaps dangerous, operation, but some antidote to credit inflation is long overdue. If it is not administered very soon, kill-or-cure shock treatment may become necessary.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

"DON QUIXOTE" AND THE NOVEL

BY PEDRO SALINAS

IF WE consider the word "original" from the point of view of its actual meaning, "something pertaining to the origin or beginning," the novel of Cervantes is revealed to be supremely original, for in it may be found the turning-point of the history of fiction; in it a new era in the evolution of the novel is initiated. The types of the novel antecedent to the "Quijote"—the "Amadis" and the novels of chivalry, the "Dianas" and pastoral fiction—represent but partial aspects of humanity: the former a heroic ideal which terminates in futile feats of derring-do, the latter a literary exaggeration of a sentimental situation. When, in "Lazarillo de Tormes" and the works of Alemán, Espinel, and Quevedo, Spain had the audacity to place the *pícaro*, the rogue, the underdog, in the very center of the novel, converting him from the minor character which he had been into the protagonist and the magnetic pole of the compassionate attention of the reader, a new region of humanity was conquered for fiction. But the picaresque novel is also restrictive: it excludes from its vision of the world all that does not fall within the concept of the rogue. Thus the novel, when it is compared with the vastness of human experience, remains limited and insufficient. Cervantes first produced the universally comprehensive novel, the novel with sufficient capacity to surround the equivocal and mysterious figure of the knight Quijote with a whole world of shepherds and townspeople, wenches and rogues, captives of the Moors, bachelors of the town. The "Quijote" is a work so affluent that one views it in its historical place with the amazement which the explorer who had never seen more than modest streams, rivers of minor order, must have felt on first encountering the Amazon, summa of rivers, archetype of affluence.

The Transcendental Novel

It is generally conceded that the novel must entertain. But "entertain" is a treacherous word, and only too easily assumes a connotation of vulgarity or triviality. In its original conception the novel entertains superficially, in a cinematic manner, as its torrent of adventurous deeds gives the reader the simple pleasure of imaginative transport. But today it is felt that inherent in every great novel is a symbolic meaning, a significance which transcends the deeds of its characters. It could be said that the characters, the actions, and the conflicts in a novel are like disjointed letters, which only acquire full value when, by joining with one another, they form a word, and thus change themselves from mere signs into a new meaningful reality.

When Stephen Spender speaks of the "journalistic novel," I believe he is alluding to the type of realism which is not transcendental, while in the novel which he calls "poetic" may be encountered a symbolic fiction which uses the realities of human existence for an ultra-realistic proposition. Before "Madame Bovary," "Moby Dick," "War and Peace," "Crime and Punishment," or "Ulysses," Cervantes achieved a novel in which, transpiercing the entertainment inherent in every work of fiction, the reader may perceive a spiritual illumination which indeed does not shine on the characters of the book but turns upon and illuminates the reader himself. Every great book, though it may treat a multitude of characters, in the last analysis always ends in one—the human being who reads it, who thus becomes its ultimate and final character, the authentic protagonist.

Cervantes, in achieving for the first time this all-inclusive, universal novel, abandons the fabulous geography and the indecisive cultures of earlier fiction, and presents one land and one people—Spain and the Spanish people. That dust of the Spanish roads which Flaubert sensed coming to him from between the lines of the "Quijote" is Spanish earth, crumbled, floating earth. The "Quijote" arrived at universality by the way of localization in profundity, a very different thing from the superficial localization of custom and the picturesque in the so-called local color of the romantics. In this Spanish earth lives a people, with all its manners and customs and virtues and characteristic defects. And the catholicity of the "Quijote" is also proved here, because Cervantes admits into his pages people of every social and moral condition, each one represented with his inherent mentality. We remember the merchants, who in their typically pragmatic spirit, having no portrait by which to prove the fact experimentally, declined to declare Dulcinea the most beautiful lady in the world; and on the other hand, the wife of Sancho, superb example of the Spanish peasant woman, who knows very well what's what and why and wants to keep it that way: to live assured of her destiny like the tree in its earth, without aspiring to vain grandeurs which belie her natural being and don't agree with her. In this novel hundreds of people elbow one another and perform by turns: the "Quijote" is a true democracy in which they have a right to live and to be heard, dukes and galley slaves, priests and knights and girls of the town. The novel of the sixteenth century pigeonholed in classes the rogue, the exquisite courtly shepherd, the lofty knight errant. But the "Quijote" is a work above classes, a work of all humanity, of people without discrimination.

The Human Quality

Every great novelist has his own intellectual and emotional vision of man, his own conception of human nature. Man is one thing for Dostoevski, another for Henry James, another for Proust. Behind every novel pulses the tortured question: "What is a human being, what is my neighbor, what am I?" For centuries it has been thought that two characters were counterpoised in the "Quijote," that Don Quijote and Sancho personified two antagonistic tendencies of human nature. If this had

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been so, would not the result have been monstrous—that two such diametrically different and contradictory characters should travel together through the world as inseparable companions, loving each other with profound affection, aiding each other with fraternal solicitude? In reality the "Quijote" does not have two principal characters, Don Quijote and Sancho. Its one true protagonist is a dual character, a double hero—Don Quijote-Sancho. The hyphen which I use as an orthographic sign actually means much more: it separates the two names as much as it unites them. It means that Cervantes conceived human nature as an organic integration of two separate and distinct elements, of two impulses, the quixotesque and the sanchesque. If it is conceded, in so far as the matter can be reasoned, that the one personifies our tendency toward the greater good, toward spiritual and disinterested values, and the other our tendency toward the lesser good, toward materialism and egotism, then what Cervantes hints in the separation of the characters is that we must submit to the existence of these two forces which are born with all of us, the ascendant and the descendant, and accustom ourselves to bear them, living together side by side, within us. But on the part of Cervantes this should not be taken for an attitude of neutrality, of acceptance of the fact that man never will be able to overcome his inferior appetites and will always have to resign himself to being burdened with Sancho's saddlebags. The character of the squire perhaps progresses more than any other in the novel. To serve Don Quijote, to live at his side, is for Sancho the highest education. The Sancho of the end of the novel is almost as beautiful as Quijote, because Quijote has changed him. Translated into the symbol of human nature, this can mean, then, that our life is not a mechanical condemnation to abide always with a constant quantity of truth and error, of good and evil, but that the best in us lives together with the worst and can judge it day by day and model it in its own likeness. Our existence is, if not effective progress in everything, at least possibility of progress, a capacity for improvement; thus Quijote, by the force of love and kindness, conquers more and more territory in the nature of Sancho.

Invitation to Liberty

The supreme virtue of this book lies in the fact that everything we see in it is suggested by Cervantes in such a subtle and delicate manner that there is no work less doctrinal, less sermon-like, less exacting. If melodrama displeases us it is because, from the first pages, the author authoritatively ordains that we believe everything Mr. X does is good and wholesome, and everything Mr. Y does is detestable and nefarious; the reader must swallow all the author cooks up for him. But Cervantes envelops his work in a climate of liberty. It is my opinion that the literary technique of liberty is humor, because humor, in illuminating with two lights, in offering two or more versions of the same reality, moves us to an act of election. Cervantes collocates his characters in the special atmosphere which A. Castro has called oscillating reality, *"la realidad oscilante."* In it Don Quijote can be "loco" or wise, the basin-helmet or the helmet-basin; the reader is invited to choose constantly according to his understanding. The essence of liberty consists in permitting man to elect, and even more, in permitting him, if he does not feel truly convinced, to abstain from electing. Cervantes always proposes; he never imposes. And because of this his readers and critics, wise and ignorant, have worn out centuries contending that the "Quijote" is this, that, or the contrary. It is because, in reading it, we exercise the great privilege of the human mind confronted with the spectacular drama of the world: to discern its distinct realities, to compare them, and finally to place over those of our preference the sign of our liberty, election.

Report on Eastern Europe

RUSSIA'S EUROPE. by Hal Lehrman. D. Appleton–Century Company. $3.75.

WHILE I was in Poland last summer, one of my American colleagues was a correspondent for a New York afternoon paper which expected him to give a more favorable picture of conditions there than had been provided by the rest of the American press. The reporter, being intellectually honest, found himself admitting that the situation was not so "simple" as he had been predisposed to believe. I never checked up on what he wrote, but when last seen he was in a close huddle with his conscience.

Hal Lehrman started out for Eastern Europe a year or so earlier with similar preconceptions, and he admits with disarming candor that he had outlined his book in his mind before he started gathering material for it. That is not always the best *modus agendi,* and the upshot was that a very different book eventually emerged. "Russia's Europe" is the story of the mental and emotional process by which Mr. Lehrman was converted from what he might now describe as a starry-eyed liberal into a political realist. He wants "simply to show the impact of Soviet policy and action on the average mind of an average liberal." That seems a fair statement of what he has done.

One is sometimes surprised at Mr. Lehrman's surprise at what he found. A little reading of Marx and Lenin and a good history of Eastern Europe might have prepared him for some of it. As it is, he appears to bear a grudge against the Russians for not having turned out to be nice bourgeois democrats. In all fairness to them, they never really pretended they were. He was disappointed to find Russian and non-Russian Communists alike tough, unscrupulous, opportunistic, and filled with suspicion and fear of Westerners.

All this is not to say that "Russia's Europe" is a poor book. It is, on the contrary, a very good reporting job on the major part of Russia's Europe and a little slice of ours, Greece and Turkey. Mr. Lehrman did a lot of zigzagging back and forth through the Balkans and pieced together the story of what happened there during the first two years after the liberation. He has enlivened it with a goodly amount of "color" and anecdotal material; so that it reads briskly. He devoted more time—and more space in the book—to Yugoslavia than to any other country, and since this is the "toughest" of all the so-called iron-curtain countries, his division of space tends to weight the book. This could be justified on the ground that Yugoslavia is the model of what the Communists would like to achieve elsewhere.

Unfortunately, the more interesting northern countries are passed by. Czecho-

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slovakia is tossed off—and aside—in less than a dozen pages, while Poland and Finland are assumed to conform to the pattern of the Balkans. The assumption is wholly unwarranted with respect to Finland, and at least an oversimplification as regards Poland. I should like to have seen some discussion of the reasons why the Communists felt compelled to adopt quite different tactics in countries where they found a strong native movement of the democratic left and center. In discussing Greece and Turkey Mr. Lehrman argues that these are the groups the United States should support against the totalitarian tendencies of the left and right.

In Czechoslovakia the non-Communists have already started waging the fight of their lives against a Communist attempt to crack down on them. It seems to me that Mr. Lehrman—like the State Department, incidentally—makes a mistake in underestimating the importance of that resistance. In Poland the Communists have yet to deal effectively with the Socialists. In Finland they have not so far tried to crack down.

The part of "Russia's Europe" that deals with Britain's and America's Greece and Turkey is only slightly less critical than the rest of the book. Mr. Lehrman visited Greece first and last. In 1945 he saw Allied policy there as a "betrayal to the extreme right"; in 1946, against the background of what he had learned in the rest of the Balkans, he saw it as "betrayal to the extreme left, through support of a reactionary clique whose excesses were forcing a democratic people to move closer and closer to the Communists." Since Americans have better opportunities these days for being informed about unsavory conditions on the other side of the "iron curtain," they may be more shocked by the sections on Greece than by those on Yugoslavia.

So far as I know, this is the first time anyone has attempted to piece together the whole story of Southeastern Europe since the war. Mr. Lehrman does tell that story, and his book will be useful, at least as an interim history. Eventually, it may be hoped, someone with the background and sophistication of a Hugh Seton-Watson will give us a more definitive history.

RUSSELL HILL

History as Narrative

ORDEAL OF THE UNION. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. $10.

THE publication of these brilliant volumes by one of our outstanding historians is an event of great significance to the general public as well as to the profession itself. For over a decade Allan Nevins has been preaching in season and out the necessity of bringing the reading of history back into the home to satisfy a popular interest that made Bancroft, Prescott, and Parkman "best-sellers" a century ago. His own distinguished books, which include two Pulitzer Prize biographies, testify to his belief that history can be made enjoyable, that intelligently conceived and properly written it need not restrict itself to the learned monograph or yield to fictionalization and the substitution of the photograph for the printed page. To prove his point Mr. Nevins has now embarked in Macaulay-like fashion upon a detailed narrative of that perennial favorite in our national past, the era of the Civil War. The first two volumes, "Fruits of Manifest Destiny" and "A House Dividing," proceed at a leisurely pace from the end of the Mexican War in 1848 to the inauguration of Buchanan in 1857. A third, reaching the summer of 1861, is promised; beyond that the author wisely declines to commit himself.

Judged by almost any standard—scholarship, readability, comprehensiveness, or sheer daring—this is one of the supreme achievements in recent historical writing. No previous account of these stirring years, and there have been many, can match this one for breadth, insight, and impartiality; none can rival it for body and flavor. Not content with mastering a formidable array of specialized writings by other students, Mr. Nevins has gone back to original sources, some familiar, many unused, and has succeeded in giving the period a freshness that few would have thought possible. On countless topics his is now the best account in print. Yet throughout, the prodigious research remains unobtrusive; and the story unfolds pleasantly, at times even breathlessly. The work's unique value, however, rests upon its vast scope. No one, not even the fiery von Holst or the more candid Rhodes, has painted on so broad a canvas; and this advantage is exploited to the utmost. Personalities come to life in these pages because they are fully sketched. Debates prove exciting when detailed arguments on both sides can be heard. Industrial and agricultural developments take on a new meaning under a searching analysis of the social and economic conditions that called them forth. The railroad race to the Mississippi, the plight of the free Negro, and the blunders at Aix-la-Chapelle assume an air of reality thanks to a generous allotment of space. Most important of all, the massive framework enables the author to avoid a fault common in most social history: a tendency to compress reformers and inventors, editors and artists, educators and capitalists into a catalogue of names. To be sure the very magnitude of this enterprise leads to errors of fact, and this reviewer has found his share; but the wonder is that these lapses are so insignificant and so few.

An emphasis on chronology, personalities, and politics may strike some as old-fashioned. But Mr. Nevins makes it clear that his is "primarily a narrative history," and he rightly insists that "only a careful narrative can lay bare the inner meaning of the crisis, as only an ordered story can do justice to the suspense, drama, and human passion of the era." Knowing full well that many readers today learn most of their history from biographies, the author has given abundant pen portraits of the major figures of the fifties. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, whose stock has fallen recently, emerge with new laurels as the only men, perhaps, who could have made the sectional truce workable and permanent. Although placing on his title-page the dictum of John Richard Green that "political history, to be intelligible and just, must be based on social history in its largest sense," Mr. Nevins refuses to bow to current prejudices against political history and properly gives it a prominent place. After all, no country was more politically minded than mid-century America, and to omit or minimize that facet would be a serious distortion. Eighteen of the thirty-one chapters deal with President and Congress, the causes and consequences of such momentous legislation as the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the break-up of

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Letters to the Editors

A Public Allegiance

Dear Sirs: An article published in your special supplement on Palestine of October 4, headed Inside Arab Politics and written by J. L. Teller, mentioned me as one of the opponents of His Eminence the Grand Mufti of Palestine.

I wish to inform you that there is no substance whatsoever in the allegations made in your publication. It is quite untrue that I had any connection with any political party or with the UNSCOP, or that I am an opponent of His Eminence. On the contrary, the Grand Mufti is the sole recognized and respected leader of all Arabs in Palestine, and I pride myself on having been one of his numerous supporters and admirers for the last thirty years.

The whole article referred to above has no foundation in fact.

M. BARADEY ABBASSI

New York, November 25

Dear Sirs: The Honorable Judge, while expressing admiration for the Mufti, does not deny that he was a signatory to a memorandum submitted to UNSCOP in Geneva in defiance of the Mufti's Arab Higher Committee's boycott. Nor does he deny that he was decorated by King Abdullah of Transjordan, whose aspirations are known to conflict with those of the Mufti. It is customary, because of the Mufti's methods of combating political opponents, for the latter publicly to proclaim allegiance to him.

For this reason, too, I unfortunately cannot disclose the names of the Arab sources—and there were several of them —with whom I checked the information contained in my article.

J. L. TELLER

New York, November 31

Attention, Mr. Thomas!

Dear Sirs: Recently I came across a statement by an American citizen of considerable prominence which I feel should be brought to the attention of J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. The statement represents the sort of dangerously radical sentiments which Mr. Thomas and his fellow committee members are so zealously endeavoring to eradicate in this country. It runs as follows:

> You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its officeholders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is purely animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose constitution declares "that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have *at all times* an undeniable and indefeasible right to *alter their form of government* in such a manner as they may think expedient." Under that gospel the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does.

Unfortunately the author of this highly subversive and thoroughly un-American utterance is now beyond the reach of Mr. Thomas's committee, as he died in 1910. He was Samuel L. Clemens, alias Mark Twain, and the passage quoted appeared in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

WALDO R. BROWNE

Warwick, N. Y., November 27

Dangerous List

Dear Sirs: As a result of the current hysteria about left-wing groups it is becoming increasingly difficult for the hard-pressed liberal to determine with which organizations he may "safely" cooperate. To solve this problem, a formula is obviously desirable, and, as a result of laborious research, I offer this one:

Do not cooperate with any organization which has any of the fifty-five names listed below in its title:

Agency; Alliance; Appeal; Assembly; Associates; Association; Auxiliary; Board; Book Club; Book Shop; Branch; Brigade; Brotherhood; Bureau; Caucus; Center; Chamber; Chapter; Chest; Circle; Clinic; Club; Commission; Committee; Conference; Congress; Cooperation; Council; Department; Division; Drive; Forum; Federation; Foundation; Fellowship; Fraternity; Friends; Fund; Front; Group; Guild; Institute; League; Legion; Lodge; Mobilization; Movement; Office; Order; Organization; Round Table; Service; Society; Union; Workshop.

WILL MASLOW

New York, December 3

Objection to Mme Flagstad

Dear Sirs: We professional musicians who served our country in World War II protest against the coming Carnegie Hall recital of Kirsten Flagstad, who did not serve her country in its years of darkness.

We do not advocate suppression of the works of creative artists, but we do believe that pro-fascist interpretative performers should serve a period of non-performing penance for their sins against humanity and democracy. We hold this "Music Plan" enforceable against the Furtwänglers, Giesekings, Giglis, and Flagstads. How else can we show respect for those who suffered because of conscience in fascist countries?

It is of interest that on the same day that the press carried notices of the riot caused by the public appearance of Furtwängler in Vienna, Mme Flagstad's appearance in Chicago was greeted with enthusiasm.

The Musicians' Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee hereby records its continuing respect for anti-fascists and its continuing objection to any public appearance of Mme Flagstad.

LEON GOLDSTEIN, Chairman
Musicians' Chapter, A. V. C.

Brooklyn, December 7

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Gentleman's Agreement
BRANDT'S MAYFAIR SEVENTH AVENUE AND FORTY-SEVENTH STREET 20th CENTURY-FOX

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Only Alphabetically First

Dear Sirs: I have just read the excellent article by Homer A. Jack, The New Chicago Fires, in your issue of November 22. It is an outstanding piece of work. I have only one minor comment to make. In the article the author refers to "legal talent headed by Leon M. Despres." There were three lawyers in the case—Mr. William Temple, Mr. M. J. Myer, and I. Since we were all equal, the announcements listed our names in alphabetical order. In that sense Mr. Jack was accurate in his statement. However, although I may have been *primus,* I was only *primus inter pares.*

LEON M. DESPRES

Chicago, November 28

Young New Dealers

Dear Sirs: We are writing you to introduce you to the United Youth of America, a progressive group formed approximately six months ago. Its members are mainly ardent young New Dealers, and it thus greatly resembles Americans for Democratic Action. We would appreciate it if you would advise some of your younger readers to join our group. Its address is 400 West Forty-seventh Street, New York City. We must all continue to fight for the restoration of the New Deal.

JACK KLASS, Membership Director
GEORGE NICKOLAIDES, Treasurer

New York, December 5

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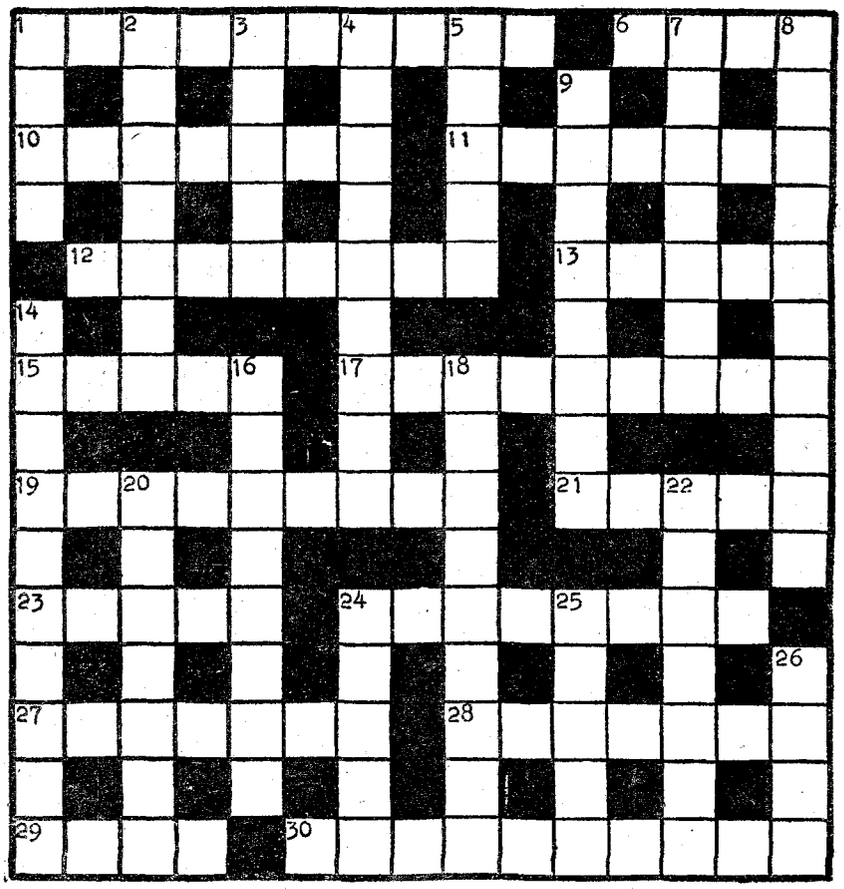
Crossword Puzzle No. 242

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Does he tease a biscuit? (10)
6 He is untaxed when free. (4)
10 Unfinished, on the biased side. (7)
11 See 26 down.
12 It's easy for the Spanish to be wrapped up in a kiss. (8)
13 You seldom consider her ruthless. (5)
15 These keep a lady on her toes. (5)
17 Mix well, or use only with difficulty. (9)
19 It's simply tragic, the way he turned them out! (9)
21 Pat couldn't wear it once. (5)
23 This usually places you somewhere else. (5)
24 These cover the hands and face. (8)
27 How to put Edward in office? (7)
28 Asia is disturbed by a returning spirit. (7)
29 You might find this around a bay window. (4)
30 The driver who calls for your suit? (5, 5)

DOWN

1 Transported. (4)
2 Years when clothes come first. (7)
3 Even if it's watered, I must have more around. (5)
4 Not really a cover for the engine. (9)
5 Solid gold sometimes. (5)
7 Strange debts to a dog! (7)
8 Gets tiny, if disturbed. (10)
9 Last work. . . . (4, 4)
14 . . . . . and workers at last. (10)
16 Stops his arguers with this one! (8)
18 You can't say they didn't try! (9)
20 "Dear Sir" . . . . (7)
22 Swell sort of general. (7)
24 Cried hard? (Some like it so!) (5)
25 It's a small apartment, in a way, so put a brief time in to make a proper place of it. (5)
26 and 11 across. Proper for birds, and proper in 1521. (4, 2, 5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 241

ACROSS:—1 SUNLIGHT; 5 SEXTET; 9 INTEGER; 10 LODGING; 11 RHUBARB; 12 TIME OUT; 13 POETIC LICENCE; 15 FORTUNE TELLER; 21 EMPLACE; 22 DERIVES; 23 SEATING; 24 ACETONE; 25 SESAME; 26 ASSYRIAN.

DOWN:—1 SHIRRS; 2 NOTRUMP; 3 INGRATE; 4 HARDBOILED EGG; 6 ENDEMIC; 7 TRICORN; 8 TOGETHER; 10 LITTLEENDIANS; 14 OFFENSES; 16 REPEATS; 17 URANIUM; 18 LARGELY; 19 RAVIOLI; 20 ASTERN.

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